Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02466 01 OF 02 150145Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10 CIAE-00
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2032
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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E.O. 11652:N/A
TAGS:PARM, UNGA
SUBJECT: UNSSOD: DRAFT INTRODUCTION TO FINAL DOCUMENT AGREED AD REFERENDUM IN DRAFTING GROUP, JUNE 14, FOR CONSIDERATION IN WORKING GROUP A (DECLARATION/MACHINERY)

1. DURING MEETING, JUNE 14, TEXT CONTAINED PARA 4 BELOW WAS AGREED AD REFERENDUM BY DELEGATIONS IN THE DRAFTING GROUP ON THE INTRODUCTION TO THE SSOD FINAL DOCUMENT. AD REFERENDUM AGREED DRAFT INTRODUCTION WILL BE SUBMITTED TO WORKING GROUP A (DECLARATION/MACHINERY) FOR ITS REVIEW AND COMMENT.

2. TEXT CONTAINED PARA 4, IS THE RESULT OF LENGTHY AND INTENSIVE NEGOTIATION AMONG THE DELEGATIONS OF THE US, UK, FRG, USSR, YUGOSLAVIA, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, AND MEXICO, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FRENCH AND INDIANS. CONSIDERABLE EFFORT WAS EXPENDED ON THE PART OF ALL DELEGATIONS TO DEVELOP COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS WHERE POSITIONS CONFLICTED, RESULTING IN THE FIRST AD REFERENDUM AGREED TEXT TOTALLY FREE OF BRACKETS. WHILE SOME OF THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02466 01 OF 02 150145Z

MAY NOT BE THE MOST DESIRABLE US FORMULATION, US DEL BELIEVES THE DRAFT INTRODUCTION BELOW IS ACCEPTABLE.

3. ACTION REQUESTED: DELEGATION REQUESTS WASHINGTON APPROVAL IN SUBSTANCE OF TEXT CONTAINED PARA 4 BELOW.

4. TEXT OF AD REFERENDUM AGREED DRAFT INTRODUCTION.

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF SECURITY, WHICH IS AN INSEPARABLE ELEMENT OF PEACE, HAS ALWAYS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST PROFOUND ASPIRATIONS OF HUMANITY. STATES HAVE FOR A LONG TIME SOUGHT TO MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY THROUGH THE POSSESSION OF ARMS. ADMITTEDLY, THEIR SURVIVAL HAS, IN CERTAIN CASES, EFFECTIVELY DEPENDED ON WHETHER THEY COULD COUNT ON APPROPRIATE MEANS OF DEFENCE. YET THE ACCUMULATION OF WEAPONS, PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TODAY CONSTITUTES MUCH MORE A THREAT THAN A PROTECTION FOR THE FUTURE OF MANKIND. THE TIME HAS THEREFORE COME TO PUT AN END TO THIS SITUATION, TO ABANDON THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND TO SEEK SECURITY IN DISARMAMENT, THAT IS TO SAY, THROUGH A GRADUAL BUT EFFECTIVE PROCESS BEGINNING WITH A REDUCTION IN THE PRESENT LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS. THE ENDING OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL DISARMAMENT ARE TASKS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE AND URGENCY. TO MEET THIS HISTORIC CHALLENGE IS IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF ALL THE NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD AS WELL AS IN THE INTERESTS OF ENSURING THEIR GENUINE SECURITY AND PEACEFUL FUTURE.

UNLESS ITS AVENUES ARE CLOSED, THE CONTINUED ARMS RACE MEANS A GROWING THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND EVEN TO THE VERY SURVIVAL OF MANKIND. THE NUCLEAR AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

CONVENTIONAL ARMS BUILDUP THREATENS TO STALL THE EFFORTS AIMED AT REACHING THE GOALS OF DEVELOPMENT, TO BECOME AN OBSTACLE ON THE ROAD OF ACHIEVING THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND TO HINDER THE SOLUTION OF OTHER VITAL PROBLEMS FACING MANKIND.

DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE, ENCOMPASSING ALL SPHERES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN ALL REGIONS OF THE WORLD, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL COUNTRIES, WOULD CREATE CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO THE EFFORTS OF STATES TO END THE ARMS RACE, WHICH HAS ENGULFED THE WORLD, THUS REDUCING THE DANGER OF WAR. PROGRESS ON DETENTE AND PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT MUTUALLY COMPLEMENT AND STRENGTHEN EACH OTHER.

THE DISARMAMENT DECADE SOLEMNLY DECLARED IN 1969 BY THE UNITED NATIONS IS COMING TO AN END. UNFORTUNATELY, THE OBJECTIVES ESTABLISHED ON THAT OCCASION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY APPEAR TO BE AS FAR AWAY TODAY AS THEY WERE THEN, OR EVEN FURTHER BECAUSE THE ARMS RACE IS NOT DIMINISHING BUT INCREASING AND OUTSTRIPS BY FAR THE EFFORTS TO CURB IT. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT SOME LIMITED AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

REACHED, "EFFECTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO THE CESSATION
OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AT AN EARLY DATE AND TO
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT" CONTINUE TO ELUDE MAN'S
GRASP. YET THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH MEASURES IS URGENTLY
REQUIRED. THERE HAS NOT BEEN EITHER ANY REAL PROGRESS
THAT MIGHT LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY ON GENERAL
AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL
CONTROL. FURTHERMORE, IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO FREE
ANY AMOUNT, HOWEVER MODEST, OF THE ENORMOUS RESOURCES,
BOTH MATERIAL AND HUMAN, THAT ARE WASTED ON THE
UNPRODUCTIVE AND SPIRALLING ARMS RACE, AND WHICH SHOULD
BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT, ESPECIALLY SINCE SUCH A RACE "PLACES A
GREAT BURDEN ON BOTH THE DEVELOPING AND THE DEVELOPED
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02466 01 OF 02 150145Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02466 02 OF 02 150146Z
ACTION IO-14

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COUNTRIES".

THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE
CONVICTION OF THEIR PEOPLES, THAT THE QUESTION OF GENERAL
AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE AND
THAT PEACE, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

ARE INDIVISIBLE AND HAVE THEREFORE RECOGNIZED THAT
THE CORRESPONDING OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ARE
UNIVERSAL.

THUS A POWERFUL CURRENT OF OPINION HAS GRADUALLY FORMED,
LEADING TO THE CONVENING OF WHAT WILL GO DOWN IN
THE ANNALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS THE FIRST SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO
DISARMAMENT.

THE OUTCOME OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION, WHOSE DELIBERATIONS
HAVE TO A LARGE EXTENT BEEN FACILITATED BY THE FIVE
SESSIONS OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE WHICH PRECEDED IT,
IS THE PRESENT FINAL DOCUMENT. THIS INTRODUCTION SERVES
AS A PREFACE TO THE DOCUMENT WHICH COMPRISES ALSO THE
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FOLLOWING THREE SECTIONS: A DECLARATION, A PROGRAM OF
ACTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL
MACHINERY FOR DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

WHILE THE FINAL OBJECTIVE OF THE EFFORTS OF ALL STATES
SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, THE IMMEDIATE
GOAL IS THAT OF THE ELIMINATION OF THE DANGER OF A
NUCLEAR WAR AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES TO
HALT AND REVERSE THE ARMS RACE AND CLEAR THE PATH TOWARDS
LASTING PEACE. NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ENTIRE RANGE OF
THOSE ISSUES SHOULD BE BASED ON THE STRICT OBSERVANCE
OF THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES ENSHRINED IN THE
CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH FULL RECOGNITION
OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMA-
MENT AND REFLECTING THE VITAL INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLES
OF THE WORLD IN THIS SPHERE. THE AIM OF THE DECLARA-
TION IS TO REVIEW AND ASSESS THE EXISTING SITUATION,
OUTLINE THE OBJECTIVES AND THE PRIORITY TASKS AND SET
FORTH FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

FOR DISARMAMENT, THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF WHICH THE
DECLARATION PROCLAIMS, TO BECOME A REALITY IT WAS
ESSENTIAL TO AGREE ON A SERIES OF SPECIFIC DISARMAMENT
MEASURES, SELECTED BY COMMON ACCORD AS THOSE ON WHICH
THERE IS A CONSENSUS TO THE EFFECT THAT THEIR SUBSEQUENT
REALIZATION IN THE SHORT TERM APPEARS TO BE FEASIBLE.
THERE IS ALSO A NEED TO PREPARE THROUGH AGREED PROCEDURES
A COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM. THAT PROGRAM,
PASSING THROUGH ALL THE NECESSARY STAGES, SHOULD LEAD
TO GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER EFFECTIVE
INTERNATIONAL CONTROL. PROCEDURES FOR WATCHING OVER
THE FULFILLMENT OF THE OBLIGATIONS THUS ASSUMED HAD

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ALSO TO BE AGREED UPON. THAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION.

ALTHOUGH THE DECISIVE FACTOR FOR ACHIEVING REAL MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT IS THE "POLITICAL WILL" OF STATES, AND ESPECIALLY OF THOSE POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, A SIGNIFICANT ROLE CAN ALSO BE PLAYED BY THE EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF AN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT IN ITS VARIOUS ASPECTS. CONSEQUENTLY, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY THAT THE TWO KINDS OF ORGANS REQUIRED TO THAT END, THE DELIBERATIVE AND THE NEGOTIATING ORGANS, HAVE THE APPROPRIATE ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURES THAT WOULD BE MOST CONDUCIVE TO OBTAINING CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS. THE FOURTH AND LAST SECTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PREPARED WITH THAT END IN VIEW. YOUNG

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